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New Year
1922



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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 79 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CON-
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THE CRISIS

Vol. 23. No. 3

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THE WORLD AND US

UNEMPLOYMENT

TO us the great outstanding fact today is lack of work and low wage for such as we get. We suffer with the world in this after-war difficulty, but human misfortune beats the more mercilessly upon those who are already unfortunate. When therefore, we know that between three and five million American workmen are today unemployed, we may shrewdly guess that in their ranks are nearly a million colored men and women. The black man is the first laborer to be discharged, the first one to have his wages decreased, the last one to be re-hired.

While we suffer most we are not the only ones that suffer. Throughout the civilized world is this problem of unemployment, and with it the contradictory fact that to retrieve the losses of the war the world needs work as never before to furnish food and clothing and shelter. What is wrong?

The answer is War. War past, present and future. War has destroyed faith and wealth, and human beings. The machinery of industry has broken down and until, slowly and painfully, it is restored, we must suffer.

DISARMAMENT

MOST of us may think that we have little personal interest in disarmament. We have only to remember that in the last fifty years, the United States Government has spent thirty-four billion dollars for war and only ten billions for everything else. This means

that every American family contributes two hundred and fourteen dollars a year to pay the 1921 taxes, where the same family paid thirty-three dollars a year to pay the 1913 taxes. The burden of this cost of war has become intolerable, and it falls heaviest on the poor and the black.

The world is meeting to try and throw it off but no sooner does it meet than the race problem appears. We can disarm only because of faith in each other. The white world is asking how much faith they can have in Japan; but Japan and India and Africa and even the wise ones in China,—in fact, the majority of men—are asking seriously, in view of the past, how much faith we can have in the white world.

Take the matter of China: Who are the aggressors upon China? They are Great Britain, France and Japan; and of these three the greatest and most persistent aggressor has been Great Britain. Yet there is not the slightest chance of Great Britain giving up today a single advantage that she has in China, while, on the other hand, insidiously and carefully prepared propaganda, is making the white world think that the only enemy of China is Japan.

The whole thing could be easily settled. There is Australia, a great empty continent containing five million people, where it could easily support one hundred million. It is being held for white settlers who do not come, while colored people are being kept out. Let Australia open its doors to its natural colored settlers; let Great Britain give up Tibet, Szechuan,

Hong-Kong, Weihaiwei and her economic concessions in the Yangtse valley; let France surrender Indo-China and her industrial domination in south China; let Japan get out of Kiao Chow, Mongolia and Manchuria; and let the United States cease her frantic efforts to force white debt slavery on China through a consortium of big banks. Then the East could well afford to give up its armies and navies and seek the path of peace.

STRIKES

THE strike is a method of industrial warfare by means of which white laborers in the last century have bettered their condition. Colored laborers have not been able to do so because they have been excluded from white unions, and have not themselves yet learned, or been in a position to learn, the secret of organization. They have consequently been tossed back and forth as shuttle-cocks between white employer and white union laborer. They look, therefore, today, upon the strike as either something that does not concern them or an opportunity to get a job which a white man has given up.

Few of them are in the clothing-making industry and are not touched by the garment makers' strike. Very few of them were threatened by the proposed railway strike. Large numbers of them are always involved in coal and packing house strikes. But whether directly involved or not, they must watch this industrial war with palpitating interest. Undoubtedly the strike as an industrial weapon is too costly and is passing, but the union organization is still here and the colored laborer must learn to use it.

IRELAND
AND
INDIA

THE real question of Ireland today is how much of the island is going to be allowed to govern itself and how much of it the industrial interests of Ulster are

going to be able to keep as a part of England, and as a center of English power.

The Treaty of Peace brings Irish Freedom nearer and increases the hope of freedom for all men.

In India the case is more complicated. Here are hundreds of millions, ignorant and poverty-stricken almost beyond belief, and yet upheld by fine traditions of family, work and religion, who are seeking to gain control of their own lands and their own souls.

One party marches toward armed resistance with war on the horizon; another party proposes non-resistance and refusal to cooperate in any work or government with the British masters.

It is a marvellously interesting fight and we should watch its every step.

VISIT-
ORS

DAILY there come to our shores, and lately in larger numbers than usual, men and women of other nations to see America. Very few of them see that tenth of America which we represent. They may meet us casually on Pullman cars or as servants and laborers, but they do not know us and do not try to know us, because they do not realize that there is anything in us worth the knowing. On the other hand, by both deliberate and accidental propaganda, they are told of all the evil concerning us which they do not see and they go home to spread this knowledge or lack of knowledge concerning us.

Sometimes, to be sure, a Foch may see a black regiment or the Disarmament Conference may note the power and growth of darker Washington, but we have yet to solve the problem of letting the world really see us.

N. A. A. C. P. AND XMAS

IN this season of holiday and joy have you thought of *your* Christmas gift for Freedom? Thinking of what you have

earned and spent for the year, what you have accomplished and enjoyed, does it occur to you that you owe something, not simply to your race and to your country, but to humanity—to the upward striving forces of the world? Have you paid that debt or any part of it?

If not, consider the claims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. During the year 1921 we have

1. Helped expose the Ku Klux Klan,
2. Pushed the anti-lynching bill out of committee and before the House of Representatives,
3. Saved up to the present time the condemned victims of the Arkansas riots, sentenced to die in 1919, and have brought their cases to the Supreme Court of the United States, at an expense of \$11,299,
4. Investigated and exposed the Tulsa riot and raised and disbursed a fund of \$3,500 for physical relief and legal aid,
5. Promoted a Second Pan-African Congress with 110 delegates and 1,000 visitors from 30 countries and 11 states of the United States,
6. Presented a petition to President Harding signed by 50,000 persons asking clemency for the soldiers who were in the Houston riot and who are now incarcerated at Leavenworth,
7. Continued to push our efforts to free Haiti and helped secure a Congressional investigating committee which is now sitting in Haiti,
8. Published 600,000 copies of *THE CRISIS* and sold them in every corner of the world,
9. In general made every enemy of the Negro fear our power, and every black victim trust our aid.

We have not done everything or all we would—but we have done something, have we not?

Moreover this work has not been paid for by millionaires. No single individual gift to us has exceeded \$500, and only seven have reached that figure. There have been only 17 gifts of \$100. The great mass of gifts have come in sums of from \$1 to \$5 from poor colored folk. Nine-tenths of the funds supporting this organization come from Negroes. This is fair and proper. It is our work and we must do it. More and more the burden of this work is going to fall on the Negro race!

But have you done *your* share? Why not send the N. A. A. C. P. a Thanksgiving or Christmas or New Year's gift? Why not lift from the backs of the officers enough of the burden of finance so as to leave them strength for investigation, action, relief, thought and plan?

THE HARDING POLITICAL PLAN



R. HARDING'S plan for settling various problems in politics is now in full swing and we are not at all sure but what it bids fair to be successful beyond his dreams. The Harding plan involves (1) White leadership for the black South; (2) A division of the Negro vote.

The white leadership of the black South has been strikingly illustrated in Virginia where the white leader, Col. Henry W. Anderson, talked some real, plain English. He said, for instance, at Barton Heights, October 22, "Senator Trinkle [his Democratic opponent] fears the Negro in Virginia politics. Our platform has eliminated the Negro from Virginia politics. Thirty-two Negroes now hold office in this State. They were appointed by the Democrats. I have asked Senator Trinkle to join with me in a movement to have these Negro judges removed from office. He has never replied to me on this matter.

"If I am elected Governor of Virginia, no Negro will ever hold office in this State under my administra-

tion. The white people must rule this commonwealth, and they will."

The result of this clear and concise statement, together with the expulsion of all Negro members from the party convention, was that 25,000 Negroes so "divided" their vote that Mr. Anderson did not get a single one of them and the Republicans received their worst defeat in many years.

In Louisville, Kentucky, the Republicans so slandered and "Jim-Crowed" the Negro that an attempt at a third party movement was made by the Negroes. The strong-arm methods of thugs interfered with its complete success, but it registered a clear warning.

On the other hand, in Philadelphia, where the Republicans nominated a Negro magistrate to the disgust of the "Independents" and high-brows, the black voters of the Seventh Ward swept him into office 5000 votes ahead of his independent rivals.

If the putting of the direction of the Republican Party in the South into the hands of Slep and his ilk, the driving of the Negro from the Republican polls and compelling him to vote for black men because they are black is what Mr. Harding wishes, he is accomplishing it. But his measure of success is bringing thought to both colored and white folk.

Thoughtful Negroes do not want racial candidates and parties: they see the ultimate contradiction and futility of this. But what is one to do who has to choose between the Democratic devil and the Republican deep sea? Thoughtful whites are also getting food for reflection: for what doth it profit a politician to get rid of the Negro in party counsels if he lose the election? And silly as the dilemma is, we opine that we can stand it as long as the other fellow and possibly a bit longer.

Therefore to our mutttons, for the Congressional elections of 1922 approach and we must not hesitate. Let every black voter look up the record of his particular Congressman. If

he cannot find it, write us; and then let us make every effort to defeat our enemies. If we can encompass their defeat by voting for any particular party, do it. If we can encompass the defeat by voting for a new party of our own, do it. Next to defeating our enemies, let us rally to the support of our friends. And there again, whether the friend be labeled Republican, Democrat, Socialist or Farmer-Labor, *vote for him*. The roll call on the Dyer bill will be a splendid indication of how we ought to vote. Those who vote against the Dyer bill *and those who are absent* are our enemies. Finally, remember what we did in New York: Ten years ago there was not a single Negro policeman in the metropolis of America. Today there are twenty or more. The Democrats gave them to us. The Democrats swept Harlem in the last election.

MR. HOWARD

MR. PERRY HOWARD complains because THE CRISIS said concerning his appointment to the United States Department of Justice: "The appointment given Mr. Perry Howard was one that we wish Mr. Howard had been able to refuse, as it is too unimportant and inadequate to be at all representative."

Mr. Howard informs us that his office is important; that it is not "Jim-Crowed"; that he has charge, as counsel for the Government, of all railroads suits brought against it in the United States Court of Claims; that he has an assistant in the person of Captain L. R. Mehlinger, a trained young colored attorney; and that his work is that of practitioner and counsel and has not the least semblance of any clerical position.

We are glad to know of this and we congratulate Mr. Howard and the Attorney-General.

And this makes us all the more insistent that both Mr. Howard and Mr. Henry Lincoln Johnson (if the latter

gets his appointment, as we sincerely hope he will), regard themselves as American citizens and Government officials with serious and important work to do, and not as errand boys for the Republican politicians. It was not the business of these two gentlemen to pull the politicians out of a hole by urging amendments to the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill which would emasculate it, and make it meaningless and worthless. It was not the business of either of these gentlemen to rush into Virginia or elsewhere to tell the colored people to vote for the Republican politicians who had insulted and kicked them out of the party. It is rather the duty of these men to set a new and high standard for the Negro office-holder and to let the people of the United States know that when they appoint colored men of their calibre to office they are not bribing voters, but rather they are arranging to get the Government's work done in the best possible manner. And too, it is the duty and privilege of these officials to teach their own race that the best political service which any politician can render his race is to do his duty like a man and to refuse all menial service.

THE CHURCH

THERE is perhaps no more interesting chapter in the history of the American Negro than the rise and expansion of the Negro church. **THE CRISIS**, therefore, proposes during the year 1922 to publish a series of articles on the "Romance of the Negro Church", taking up its chief branches and showing what their past has been, who their leaders are and what they are doing today for the advancement of the Negro race.

NEGRO ART

THE Negro race as an interpreter of beauty to the world is gradually coming to its own. Not only are our musicians

like Burleigh and Dett pursuing their high and successful career, but we are beginning to be listened to in painting and sculpture. Pageantry is appearing and the white artist and writer is beginning to discover us as human beings and not as conventional lay figures. Recently in New York City there was held in the branch of the public library which is in Harlem, an exhibit of Negro art with specimens of the work of H. O. Tanner, Laura Wheeler, W. M. Farrow, Richard Lonsdale Brown, W. E. Scott, Louise Lattimer, Meta Fuller and many others. The exhibit was a revelation in its accomplishment and a promise in its originality and beauty.

COOPERATION

FOR several years we have sought to interest the colored people of the United States in coöperative business and we have had some beginnings of success. But coöperation among us suffers just as it does among the whites: not everything is "coöperative" that is called coöperative and the first desire of rascals is to call some scheme of doubtful validity "coöperative" so as to attract the pennies of the masses. Recently we have been told that the "Coöperative Society of America" has made a gigantic failure, and this must have scared and warned many colored people. But it is to be hoped that their fear was not misplaced, for the so called "Coöperative Society of America" was not coöperative at all, but was a gigantic fraud. Meantime, the genuine coöperative movement is not only sound but successful. In the State of Illinois, where the fraudulent society failed, there are 200 successful coöperative societies. In Pennsylvania there are 200 coöperative stores in the mining regions, and throughout Europe the coöperative movement is the only economic movement that has successfully withstood the war.

HAPPY NEW YEAR!



Greetings to the Negro World.



THE World War marks an epochal change in the progress of the race. The Negro stands in an equivocal mood of mind between the old régime and the new. He looks to the past with mingled feelings of thanksgiving and regret and faces the future with misgivings and hope. The recent reaffirmation of the age-old dogma of the "fundamental, eternal, inescapable" difference of race, the fountain-head of all our woes, typifies the reactionary tendency of the time. Religion seems disposed to surrender to race and Christianity to compromise with color. On the other hand there is a growing spirit of race coöperation rather than race control as in the past. The Negro is rapidly gaining a consciousness of his own powers and a determination to give these powers efficient expression in constructive endeavor for the reclamation of the race. Negro leadership must stand unequivocally for the intellectual, moral and spiritual unity of mankind. To quicken and inspire the dormant energies which lie wrapped up in the ten millions of human beings, to formulate an ideal which shall be sufficiently tangible and definite to appeal to the whole race is the immediate program not only for the new year but for the new day upon which we are entering.

KELLY MILLER.

PERSONALLY, I am demonstrating the optimist—he whom someone defines as "one who can scent the harvest while yet the snow covers the ground" Therefore, I hold that the Negro everywhere, and the American Negro in particular, has manifold reasons for thanksgiving.

At the brink of a "brand new" year, we are thankful for life's possibilities, religious, economic, commercial; for the sense of Race-Pride, of Race-Consciousness which grows continually; for our sane, thoughtful, courageous leaders; for peace and the efforts being made toward a warless world; for the good men and women of our own and other races; for our good friends, many of them undiscussed, unknown, even, yet whose silent influence is of immeasurable benefit to us; thankful above all else,

for the Good Creator Who has promised never to leave nor forsake us.

What better advice can one give than that we think constructively, working and praying unceasingly for the freedom which, in God's own time, will come to us; that we bear in mind our individual responsibility for doing our best; that in spite of all that we have undergone, are undergoing still, we shall nevertheless "keep our faces towards the East".

L. G. JORDAN,

Secretary Emeritus of the Foreign Mission Board, National Baptist Convention.

MEN and Women of African descent in America: War and destruction have recently visited the world and wrought sorrow in their wake. But to the American Negro they have brought unforeseen opportunities; for which, at the dawn of a New Year, let us give humble thanks. The Great War and the heralded pestilence of the boll weevil have freed thousands of Negro peons. The former thrust them into the industrial world; while the latter reduced the value of cotton-producing land to the point where it is being offered to and purchased by Negro farm hands. The economic emancipation of the Negro is in sight. Wherefore, let us give thanks.

The novice industrial worker and farmer should seek, however, to better fit himself for the position which he now occupies but which he will continue to hold only if he makes himself a master workman. Moreover, Negro workers, refuse to invest the fruit of your toil in carelessly managed and impossible schemes. The success of Negro business rests upon your judgment in supporting the right kind of enterprise. An unforeseen hand has opened the door to economic freedom. The ensuing years will be crucial tests of our ability to make fitting use of this freedom. Strive, Negro men and women, to make yourselves approved workers and wise investors.

C. C. SPAULDING, *Sec.-Treas.*,
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.

THE New Year is a season of Thanksgiving and resolution—thanksgiving for the accomplishments of the past and a rededication to the ideals held sacred by individuals, nations and races. What, then, of the Negro? Wherein lies his accomplishment and what his resolution? Nineteen hundred and twenty-one has surely granted him a larger activity in the financial world; many are the worthy business enterprises he has initiated and would that space might permit their mention other than in abstract. At times, in scanning the press and listening to the spoken word, we feel that his friends may have increased, few still, to be sure, yet certainly they have not abandoned him entirely. But even a larger endowment has been his—one that is from within and of the spirit rather than the flesh: ultimately it will be translated into a greater realism than is now evident. In short, the Negro is manifesting a tend-

ency, yes a willingness, for greater racial consciousness, to elect his leadership and determine the type he will follow. He welcomes friends, but he scans carefully the gifts they bear, realizing that it is better to have much less than to be compromised by much more. He takes courage in the success of allied movements as the Woman's Party, the Labor Party, the Cause of Irish Freedom and the Gandhi Non-Coöperationist Plan. Those who sat in the Pan-African Conference realized his activity in the development of a new internationalism. His resolution is to prosecute more vigorously "the cause", to shun alignments that weaken, to abhor flattery and cajolery, and to win, ultimately, for all Americans the right to enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

JOHN HURST,

Bishop of the A. M. E. Church.

PLACIDO



JAMES WELDON JOHNSON



[The following article is an excerpt from the preface to "The Book of American Negro Verse", a new book by James Weldon Johnson to be published early in the year by Harcourt, Brace & Co.]

AMONG the greatest poets of Latin America are men of Negro blood. There are Plácido and Manzano in Cuba; Vieux and Durand in Haiti, Machado de Assis in Brazil; Léon Laviaux in Martinique, and others still that might be mentioned. Plácido and Machado de Assis rank as great in the literatures of their respective countries without any qualifications whatever. They are world figures in the literature of the Latin languages. Machado de Assis is somewhat handicapped in this respect by having as his tongue and medium the lesser known Portuguese, but Plácido, writing in the language of Spain, Mexico, Cuba and of almost the whole of South America, is universally known. His works have been republished in the original in Spain, Mexico and in most of the Latin-American countries; several editions have been published in the United States;

translations of his works have been made into French and German.

Plácido is in some respects the great-



est of all the Cuban poets. In sheer genius and the fire of inspiration he surpasses even the more finished Hérédia. Then, too, his birth, his life and his death ideally contained the tragic elements that go into the making of a halo about a poet's head. Plácido was born in Habana in 1809. The first months of his life were passed in a founding asylum; indeed, his real name, Gabriel de la Concepcion Valdes, was in honor of its founder. His father took him out of the asylum, but shortly afterwards went to Mexico and died there. His early life was a struggle against poverty; his youth and manhood was a struggle for Cuban independence. His death placed him in the list of Cuban martyrs. On the 27th of June, 1844, he was lined up against a wall with ten others and shot by order of the Spanish authorities on a charge of conspiracy. In his short but eventful life he turned out work which bulks more than six hundred pages. During the few hours preceding his execution he wrote three of his best known poems, among them his famous sonnet, "Mother, Farewell!"

Plácido's sonnet to his mother has been translated into every important language—William Cullen Bryant did it in English—but in spite of its wide popularity, it is, perhaps, outside of Cuba, the least understood of all Plácido's poems. It is curious to note how Bryant's translation totally misses the intimate sense of the delicate subtlety of the poem. The American poet makes it a tender and loving farewell of a son who is about to die to a heart-broken mother; but that is not the kind of a farewell that Plácido intended to write or did write.

The key to the poem is in the first word, and the first word is the Spanish conjunction *Si* (if). The central idea, then, of the sonnet is, "*If the sad fate which now overwhelms me should bring a pang to your heart, weep no more, for I die a glorious death and sound the last note of my lyre to you.*" Bryant either failed to understand or ignored the opening word, "*If*", because he was not familiar with the poet's history.

While Plácido's father was a Negro, his mother was a Spanish white woman, a dancer in one of the Habana theatres. At his birth she abandoned him to a founding asylum, and perhaps never saw him

again, although it is known that she outlived her son. When the poet came down to his last hours he remembered that somewhere there lived a woman who was his mother; that although she had heartlessly abandoned him; that although he owed her no filial duty, still she might, perhaps, on hearing of his sad end feel some pang of grief or sadness; so he tells her in his last words that he dies happy and bids her not to weep. This he does with nobility and dignity, but absolutely without affection. Taking into account these facts, and especially their humiliating and embittering effect upon a soul so sensitive as Plácido's, this sonnet, in spite of the obvious weakness of the sestet as compared with the octave, is a remarkable piece of work.

In considering the Aframerican poets of the Latin languages I am impelled to think that, as up to this time the colored poets of greater universality have come out of the Latin-American countries rather than out of the United States, they will continue to do so for a good many years. The reason for this I hinted at in the first part of this preface. The colored poet in the United States labors within limitations which he cannot easily pass over. He is always on the defensive or the offensive. The pressure upon him to be propagandic is well nigh irresistible. These conditions are suffocating to breadth and to real art in poetry. In addition he labors under the handicap of finding culture not entirely colorless in the United States. On the other hand, the colored poet of Latin-America can voice the national spirit without any reservations. And he will be rewarded without any reservations, whether it be to place him among the great or declare him the greatest.

So I think it probable that the first world-acknowledged Aframerican poet will come out of Latin-America. Over against this probability, of course, is the great advantage possessed by the colored poet in the United States of writing in the world-conquering English language.

[We have added Plácido's *Despida a Mi Madre* in the original Spanish with the translation by Bryant and a translation by Mr. Johnson for the benefit of the interested reader.—*Lit. Ed.*]

DESPIDA A MI MADRE
(En La Capilla)

PLACIDO

S I la suerte fatal que me ha
cabido,
Y el triste fin de mi sangrienta
historia,
Al salir de esta vida transitoria
Deja tu corazon de muerte herido;
Baste de llanto: el ánimo afligido
Recobré su quietud; moro en la
gloria,
Y mi plácida lira á tu memoria
Lanza en la tumba su postrer
sonido.

Sonido dulce, melodioso y santo,
Glorioso, espiritual, puro y
divino,
Inocente, espontáneo como el
llanto

Que vertiera al nacer: ya el
cuello inclino!
Ya de la religion me cubre el
manto!
Adios, mi madre! adios—El Pel-
grino.

FAREWELL TO MY MOTHER
(In the Chapel)

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

T HE appointed lot has come
upon me, mother,
The mournful ending of my years
of strife,
This changing world I leave, and
to another
In blood and terror goes my
spirit's life.

But thou, grief-smitten, cease
thy mortal weeping
And let thy soul her wonted peace
regain;
I fall for right, and thoughts of
these are sweeping
Across my lyre to wake its dying
strain.

A strain of joy and gladness,
free, unfailing,
All glorious and holy, pure, di-
vine,
And innocent, unconscious as the
waiting

I uttered on my birth; and I
resign
Even now, my life; even now de-
scending slowly,
Faith's mantle folds me to my
slumbers holy.
Mother farewell! God keep thee—
and forever!

PLACIDO'S FAREWELL TO
HIS MOTHER

(Written in the chapel of the Hos-
pital de Santa Cristina on the
night before his execution.)

JAMES WALDON JOHNSON

I F the unfortunate fate engulf-
ing me,
The ending of my history of
grief,
The closing of my span of years
so brief,
Mother, should wake a single pang
in thee,
Weep not. No saddening thought
to me devote;
I calmly go to a death that is
glory-filled,
My lyre before it is forever
stilled
Breathes out to thee its last and
dying note.

A note scarce more than a burden-
easing sigh,
Tender and sacred, innocent, sin-
cere,—
Spontaneous and instinctive as
the cry
I gave at birth—And now the
hour is here.
O God, thy mantle of mercy o'er
my sins!
Mother, farewell! The pilgrimage
begins.

A TALE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA WOODS



ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET



NORTH CAROLINA woods, where the tall, gaunt pines "mosey" upward and stretch their towering tops to the blue skies, is a certain haven of rest and comfort to the sojourner weary of the *pêle-mêle* and tedium of American city life. Crickets and grasshoppers chirp and play at your feet; toadstools of enormous size and wonderful colors arouse your curiosity and revive the drooping spirits which need so much a touch of nature's tonic. Here and there, splashing the verdant earth with colors as numerous as the rainbow are colonies of wild flowers—sometimes a lonely daisy, or a gay, frisky cowbell looks up from its lowly station, anxious, no doubt, for you to take notice of the part it plays in this wonderful bit of nature's handiwork.

Any number of beautiful flowers surround one, large and small, great and tiny, all of them tinted with the most delicate of nature's pigments, some in a most complex manner with an almost inexplicable medley of color; others, like the dew of the morning, simple, plain, refreshing to the eye, with a power that braces the heart and causes song, even poetry, to burst forth from within—tiny creatures oftentimes, but lovelier than the loveliest rose of the city's

floral shop, and primmer than the daintiest violet.

It is so cool and quiet in the North Carolina woods!

We used to enjoy the sparkling wafts of pine-laden breezes, seated by (or over) a little muddy streamlet which coursed its way somewhere, nowhere. Such a sluggish stream I have never seen in any other place. To take a casual look at it you would not know it was flowing water. Just when you had made up your mind that it was a stagnant pool, you perceived a dim, pluggish, almost imperceptible movement of the murky water. A tiny pine twig thrown on the crest of the stream would gradually move down, inch by inch, stopping on its tedious journey for half hours and even hours, and then slowly moving a few more inches.

The stream was only ten or twelve feet wide and scarcely six inches in depth. Occasionally you could see something dash through the muddy water, the distinctness of its outline dimmed by the sediment which saturated the water everywhere.

"It's a frog," I would cry.

"No, it's a water snake," would call another.

"You're seeing things," would be the taunt of Allan, who loved to talk but cared nothing about watching nature.

There was a huge tree stretched across the stream over which passersby could cross from one side to the other. This tree was a source of wonder to us because it had taken root on one side of the stream and then, as though prompted by Mother Nature herself, had grown straight across to the other side. There it lay, a living bridge, having for years served the people thereabouts.

We would often sit and puzzle about that bridge. We wondered whether the tree had just happened by chance, or whether some crafty woodsman, prompted by a deep civic spirit, had deliberately coerced nature into allowing the tree to assume such a course. Seated upon it, over the stream, we would speculate about it, until some person would come along and make it necessary for us to get off for a few moments while he crossed over. For a long time it did not occur to us that these people who lived in the woods might know something about the tree. A number of persons passed us regularly and we soon knew just who it was who was approaching.

One in particular became a special subject of interest. She would have interested anybody. She was an old colored woman, wild-eyed and fierce in the expression of her face, with the appearance of one who was half-witted. She always came by about the same time each day, near eventide. We could tell that she was coming by the songs she always sang as she passed through the woods. Such songs! And the voice of that poor creature! (She seemed happy enough, though.) They were old plantation songs, doubtless, though none of the more familiar ones, which have crept northward, seemed to appear among them.

Her whole appearance was odder than anything I have ever seen. She always had something balanced on her head, whether it was a bundle of clothes or merely an old newspaper. Her face was dark brown in color, her eyes somewhat slanty, black and sparkling, with the fire of a maniac. Her clothing, if one may call it such, was a patchwork of rags as dirty as they were old; and her shoes barely acted as a covering for her feet—so ragged and worn were they.

Whenever she passed by us at the bridge she would stop her singing, eye us quickly and make a peculiar grimace or grin. Then as she gaily tripped across the natural passageway she would call out: "Good evenin' gen'mens." At which we would nod and perhaps tender a reply.

One hot August afternoon we had retreated to the cool of the stream and pines. We hardly knew what to do to pass the time away. While we were musing on the bridge we heard the familiar voice, loud and clear, echoing and re-echoing through the woods:

"Don' 'no wen I'se cum-in',
Don' 'no wen I'se cum-in',
Sun is still mighty high."

"Why not ask her about this tree?" suggested Chalfonte.

"Good," I replied, and we awaited her as she wended her way toward us.

"Good evenin' gen'mens," came the familiar greeting, together with a broad, expressive grin.

"Good evening," replied Chalfonte. "We heard you singing through the woods and we've been wondering what your name might be."

"Who, me? Don' yuh know me? I'se Queen of Sedalia," and then she went off into a loud laugh, half hysterical. "Yeh, Queen of Sedalia, bin livin' roun' dese parts mos' sixty yeahs."

"Well, well, perhaps you can tell us how this bridge came about. Can you?"

"Kin I? Well, I guess. I'se Queen of Sedalia, don' yuh know dat?"

Later we learned that the district about these woods was known locally as Sedalia.

"Queen, eh," Chalfonte answered. "How long have you been queen?"

The old woman eyed Chalfonte from shoe to cap, and then glanced at each one of us with suspicion. She must have thought we were quizzing her.

"Come," I said quickly, fearing we might lose her. "Could you tell us the story of this tree?"

Her eyes gleamed. Her whole body trembled with excitement. Then she gave one of those hideous hysterical laughs.

"Who, me? I'se Queen of Sedalia, don' yuh know dat? Sho I kin tell yuh! I knows all about ut. Does yuh reely want ter heah ut?"

"Do we?" we all cried. Chalfonte jingled

some coins in his pocket. She never seemed to notice this, however.

"Set down, den, an' I'll tell yuh all."

We sat down on the grassy bank, lest some passerby disturb us as she recounted the story. She sat down with us.

This was the story. In the days when Grant was President, this stream was almost twice as wide as it now is, and considerably deeper. This was caused by the amount of rainfall in those days, which was greater by far than the amount of rainfall at the present time. All the land in this region was owned by one Squire Marks ("Ole Man Marks"), who allowed his neighbors to take the short cut through his land to the little village on the other side of the stream, but who steadfastly refused to build any sort of bridge across the stream.

It was necessary for persons who wished to cross, to wade over, either in bare feet or in rubber boots. Besides the inconvenience which this brought about, there was always the danger of snakes. The stream and its environs were known to be infested by moccasins. Still "Ole Man Marks" steadfastly refused to build a bridge.

Every now and then some child would come tearing through the woods yelling that a snake had bitten him. However it usually proved to be a hallucination on the child's part. Either it had pierced its foot with a thorn, or in some similar manner had done something which would give rise to the notion that a snake had bitten it.

One day however, the woods were rent with the terrific cries of some one in great terror or pain. Several villagers ran to the place from whence came the yells, and

found on the shore of the stream the only son of "Ole Man Marks", prostrate, his limbs tense, his blue eyes glaring up to the burning sun. The "Queen of Sedalia" arrived just in time to see a friend make a deep incision, with some steel instrument, in the boy's leg.

"It was turrible. Blood black ez ink. . . . It flo'd all 'roun. 'Ole Man Marks' son, he kep' right still. Purty soon, along comes de Ole Man, pale ez a ghost en' shiverin' all over. . . . No use ter weep—the boy wuz daid. . . ."

"Ole Man Marks went crazy. . . . They did sumpin or other'n for him, killed him I guess, nebber see'd him no mo, po' ole fool. . . ."

"Eb'rybody 'fraid ub de ribber from den on, 'cep me . . . I wuzn't 'fraid. Who, me? I'se Queen of Sedalia.

"Eb'ry day I comes to de same spot, jes' where dat boy's black blood done all flo'd about. I prays dere, ebery day, I does. . . . What yuh t'ink? Dis tree start sproutin' up. Up, up it shoots. . . . and den—when it grows so high (pointing about three inches) it starts shootin' dis-away. See! . . . Dat's all. De blood ub dat boy done made seed fo de good Lawd, and dis tree mus' be his body. Yes!" . . . and then she gave another of those laughs.

She wouldn't say another word about the tree. She wouldn't take any money. She looked at us and grinned.

"Good evenin' gen'mens," she said, and crossed the bridge singing hilariously:

*"Bridge ub Heben—soul en body,
Pepu's gwine to leab yu' now!"*

THE NEGRO



LANGSTON HUGHES



I AM a Negro:

Black as the night is black,
Black like the depths of my Africa.

I've been a slave:

Caesar told me to keep his door-steps
clean.

I brushed the boots of Washington.

I've been a worker:

Under my hand the pyramids arose.
I made mortar for the Woolworth Building.

I've been a singer:

All the way from Africa to Georgia I carried my sorrow songs.

I made ragtime.

I've been a victim:

The Belgians cut off my hands in the Congo.

They lynch me now in Texas.

I am a Negro:

Black as the night is black,
Black like the depths of my Africa.

National Association for the ... Advancement of Colored People.

THE DYER BILL

IN the December issue of the CRISIS we told of the reporting out favorably of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Opponents of the bill apparently dared not come out openly and fight it and we therefore had to contend with a secret opposition in Congress on which it was hard to place a finger. An attempt was made to recommit the bill to the Judiciary Committee but that was blocked. Both Mr. Johnson and Mr. White have spent much time in Washington working on the matter and keeping an eye on developments.

When we found that efforts to change the bill were being considered, we renewed our efforts to secure the passage of the unamended Dyer Bill. One of the steps taken will show clearly how effectively and efficiently the machinery which we have been eleven years in building, functions. On Monday, November 14, at 3.45 P.M., a telegram was received at the National Office from Mr. Johnson who was then in Washington, stating that two influential Republican members of the House were apathetic in support of the bill and apparently were blocking early consideration and a vote on the bill. By 4 o'clock night letter telegrams had been sent to 15 of our large branches in every section of the United States, urging them to send and have sent telegrams to these two men which would show how public opinion was demanding passage of the bill. *Within 24 hours, so we have learned, more than 500 telegrams had flooded the office of these two members of Congress! Both men have since assured us of their hearty support.* That is the sort of effective organization that we need—that we must have. To show how loyally and ably the branches worked we quote one example—that of the Denver Branch—which secured telegraphic endorsement of the bill from Governor Shoup of Colorado, Mayor Baily of Denver, Bishop

Johnson of the Diocese of Colorado of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Ingley, Bishop-Coadjutor, Judge Whitford of the Colorado Supreme Court, Republican National Committeeman Vivian, Mrs. Redd, President of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Colorado and Wyoming, and from many other prominent white and colored individuals and organizations.

Congress took up the bill on December 15.

"SHUFFLE ALONG"

THE National Office, the Board of Directors and the entire membership of the N. A. A. C. P. wish to express their sincere appreciation to Messrs Miller, Lyles, Sissle and Blake and to each member of the "Shuffle Along" company for the very successful benefit which they gave for the association at the Lafayette Theatre, New York, on October 17. Each member of the company volunteered his services without cost as his contribution towards the work of the Association. The net proceeds were \$1,026. One member of the company who was unable to be present on account of illness sent one dollar as her part. Every seat of the Lafayette Theatre and all standing room was taken, while police reserves were summoned to handle the overflow crowd that almost fought to get into the theatre. Hundreds were turned away.

The phenomenal success of the "Shuffle Along" company has been one of the events of recent New York theatrical history. The foremost dramatic critics of New York have united in declaring the show one of the best ever seen on Broadway. All of the music and words are by colored people and every member of the cast is colored. Opening on May 23, the production has had an uninterrupted run, at the time that this is written, of over 200 consecutive performances. The production is tuneful, clever satire, done with the zest and energy which only colored people can achieve. Every person who plans to be in New York dur-

ing the winter should make it as much his business to see "Shuffle Along" as he would to see Fifth Avenue or the Woolworth Tower.

The success of this benefit performance offers an excellent example in raising funds to branches in other cities. Constant appeals to the public for contributions in time grow burdensome. These appeals, of course, will be continued, but legitimate entertainment in the form of theatrical performances (either professional or amateur), plays, recitals by individual artists or by choral societies, all offer a novelty that will be refreshing and appreciated by the public at large, as well as by the membership.

FIELD WORK

FIELD Secretaries Bagnal and Pickens have been doing intensive work during the months of October, November and December in a number of Southern States, reviving moribund branches, stimulating and assisting those that have been working and organizing new branches and college chapters of the N. A. A. C. P. There has been a slump in the activities of some of our branches due to the threatening of the lives of officers and members by the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations. It is most encouraging that even in small communities and isolated sections of the South these ter-

roristic methods have aided the N. A. A. C. P. in large measure by assisting us in keeping the need of a militant, aggressive and uncompromising organization ever fresh in the minds of colored people. Encouraging letters have been received telling of the splendid spirit, of colored men and women in the South, and the high esteem in which they hold the work of the Association. Mr. Pickens is covering the States of North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Tennessee while Mr. Bagnall is visiting branches in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana. Public mass meetings, conferences with branch officers and executive committees, meetings with clubs, and fraternal, social and business organizations, as well as interviews with individuals, combined with constructive work in effecting organization, are their methods.

Mrs. Hunton has been doing similar and very effective work in Indianapolis, Dayton, Columbus and Louisville, while Mr. White has addressed mass meetings in Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Providence, Washington and New York.

The annual meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. takes place January third and not January second.

THE ARKANSAS PEONS



A brief prepared by Scipio Jones reviewing the case for presentation to the Supreme Court of the United States.



(Concluded from December CRISIS)

PETITIONERS further say that the entire trial, verdict and judgment against them was but an empty ceremony; that their real trial and condemnation had already taken place before said Committee of Seven; that said Committee, in advance of the citing of the court, had sat in judgment upon them and all the other cases and had assumed and exercised the jurisdiction of the court by determining their guilt or innocence of those in jail had acquired the evidence in the manner herein set out, and decided which of the defendants should be electrocuted and which sent to prison and the terms to be given them, and which to discharge; that when court convened, the

program laid out by said Committee was carried through and the verdict against petitioners was pronounced and returned, not as the independent verdict of an unbiased jury, but as a part of the prearranged scheme and judgment of said Committee; that in doing this the court did not exercise the jurisdiction given it by law and wholly lost its jurisdiction by substituting for its judgment the judgment of condemnation of said Committee.

Petitioners further say that, ever since the law of Arkansas for the selection of jury commissioners was enacted, all of the judges of the courts have been and are now white men, and that ever since then said judges have appointed, without exception,

white commissioners to select the jurors, both grand and petit, and that such commissioners have uniformly selected only white men on such juries; that all of this has been done in discrimination against the Negro race, on account of their color; that such has been the unbroken practice in Phillips County for more than thirty years, notwithstanding the Negro population in said county exceeds the white population by more than five to one, and that a large proportion of them are electors and possess the legal, moral and intellectual qualifications required or necessary for such jurors; that the exclusion of said Negroes from the juries was, at all times, intentional and because of their color, of their being Negroes; that such was the case on the grand jury by which petitioners were indicted, and of the petit jury that pronounced them guilty; that under the law of Arkansas, as construed by the Supreme Court of the State, an objection to an indictment on the ground that it was found by a grand jury composed only of white men to the exclusion of Negroes on account of their color, must be made at the impanelling of the grand jury and objection to the petit jury must be made before a plea is entered to the indictment; that at the time said indictment was found petitioners were confined in jail and did not know the grand jury had been organized, did not know it was in session, did not know they were to be indicted for the killing of said Lee or any other person and did not know they were charged therewith; that it was impossible for them to make any objection to the organization of said grand jury for the very simple reason that they were closely confined, had no attorney, and no opportunity to employ an attorney; that at their trial, counsel appointed to defend them made no objection to the petit jury or to any previous proceeding; that their failure to do so was through fear of the mob for petitioners and himself, as they believe.

Petitioners further say that after their conviction and sentence to death, their friends employed other counsel to represent them; that through such counsel they filed a motion for a new trial, which was promptly overruled and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of Arkansas, the highest court in said State, where, on the 29th day of March, 1920, the judgment of the

Phillips Circuit Court was affirmed; that thereafter they applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of Arkansas, praying that said court be required to send up the record and proceeding in said cause for review by the Supreme Court of the United States, but that on the 11th day of October, 1920, the application for said writ was denied; that the Governor of the State of Arkansas did on the — day of August, 1921, issue a proclamation carrying into effect the judgment and sentence of the Phillips Circuit Court against petitioners and in which he fixed Sept. 23, 1921, as the date of their execution.

Petitioners further say that on the 19th day of October, 1920, the Richard L. Kitchens Post of the American Legion of Helena, Arkansas, an organization composed of approximately three hundred white ex-service men living in every part of Phillips County, passed a resolution calling on the Governor of the State of Arkansas, for the execution by death of petitioners and the seven other Negroes condemned to death by said Circuit Court at the same time and under the same circumstances as petitioners, and protesting against the commutation of the death sentence of any of said Negroes, which said Resolution was presented to the then Governor of Arkansas; that at a meeting of the Rotary Club of Helena, Arkansas, attended by seventy-five members, representing as many leading industrial and commercial enterprises of said city, and of the Lion's Club of said city, attended by sixty-five members, representing as many of the same kind of enterprises of said city each adopted a resolution approving the action of the Richard L. Kitchens Post of the American Legion in the premises, which said resolutions were presented to the then Governor of the State of Arkansas; that said resolutions further and conclusively show the existence of the mob spirit prevalent among all the white people of Phillips County at the time petitioners and the other defendants were put through the form of trials and show that the only reason the mob stayed its hand, the only reason they were not lynched was that the leading citizens of the community made a solemn promise to the mob that they should be executed in the form of law. Petitioners further say that to further show the overwhelming

existence of the mob spirit and mob domination of their and other trials of Negro defendants at the October term, 1919, of the Phillips Circuit Court, there were six defendants convicted of murder in the first degree, to wit: John Martin, Alf Banks, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, Joe Fox and Ed. Ware, whose cases were also appealed to the Supreme Court of Arkansas which were reversed on account of bad verdicts, due to the extreme haste in securing convictions and executions (Banks vs. State, 143 Ark. 154), and remanded for a new trial; that upon a retrial of said cases, defendants were again reversed (Ware vs. State, Vol. 4 Sup. Court Rep. No. 11, Page 674), and remanded for a new trial on December 6, 1920; that said cases were coming on for trial at the May term of the Phillips Circuit Court, which convened May 2nd, 1921, and it was represented to the Governor of the State of Arkansas by the white citizens and officials of Phillips County that unless a date of execution was set for petitioners there was grave danger of mob violence to the other six defendants whose cases would be called for trial at the May term of said Court and that in all probability they would be lynched; that in order to appease the mob spirit still prevalent in Phillips County and in a measure to secure the safety of the six Negroes whose cases were to be called for trial and were called on May 9th, 1921, the Governor issued a proclamation fixing a date of execution of Petitioners for June 10, 1921, which was stayed by Court Proceedings; that these facts conclusively show that mob spirit and mob domination are still universally present in Phillips County.

Petitioners further say that on the 8th day of June, 1921, they filed a petition in the Pulaski Chancery Court for a Writ of Habeas Corpus setting out the matters and things herein stated, and that on said date the Pulaski Chancery Court issued its Writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the defendant, E. H. Dempsey, keeper of the Arkansas State Penitentiary, commanding him to have the bodies of the Petitioners in Court at 2 o'clock P.M. on the 10th day of June, 1921, and then and there state in writing the term and cause of their imprisonment; that on the 9th day of June, 1921, the Attorney General for the State of Arkansas filed with the Supreme Court of Arkansas a Petition

for Writ of Prohibition against J. E. Martineau, Chancellor of the Pulaski Chancery Court, and your petitioners, and that on the 20th day of June, 1921, the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas issued its Writ of Prohibition against the Judge of the Pulaski Chancery Court, prohibiting him from hearing the Petitions for Habeas Corpus pending in his court and quashed the Writ of Habeas Corpus theretofore issued; that thereafter, to wit, on the 4th day of August, 1921, your petitioners made application to the Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for a Writ of Error to the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas in the matter of said Writ of Prohibition, but same was denied.

Petitioners, therefore, say that by the proceedings aforesaid, they were deprived of their rights and are about to be deprived of their lives in violation of Section 11, of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the United States enacted in pursuance thereto, in that they have been denied the equal protection of the law, and have been convicted, condemned and are about to be deprived of their lives without due process of law; that they are now in custody of the defendant, E. H. Dempsey, Keeper of the Arkansas State Penitentiary, to be electrocuted on the 23rd day of September, 1921; that they are now detained and held in custody by said Keeper and will be electrocuted on said date unless prevented from so doing by the issuance of a Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Petitioners therefore pray that a Writ of Habeas Corpus be issued to the end that they may be discharged from said unlawful imprisonment and unlawful judgment and sentence to death.

The writ of Habeas Corpus asked for above was granted. Later a demurrer was sustained and the writ discharged. Thereupon the attorneys appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and their appeal was allowed in the United States District Court. Thus, the greatest case against peonage and mob-law ever fought in the land and involving 12 human lives, comes before the highest court.

Reader, we have already spent \$11,299 to save these poor victims; we need \$5,000 more. Can you help?

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON.

OUR readers will perceive that we have changed the form and content of this department. Hitherto we have tried, in a mass of succinct news notes, to cover the monthly history of the Negro race. This was increasingly difficult to do and increasingly unnecessary as the weekly Negro press progressed in efficient news gathering. We have decided therefore hereafter to select a few outstanding events and persons each month, which seem to us of lasting significance; these we shall treat a little more at length and whenever possible illustrate them with pictures. We would like our readers to send us accounts of events with pictures and to let us know how they like this new feature as compared with the old.

THE President has appointed Solomon P. Hood, of Trenton, N. J., as United States minister to Liberia. Mr. Hood was born in Pennsylvania in 1856. He was educated at Lincoln University and became a Presbyterian minister. He was associated as a young man with Henry Highland Gar-

net and the late J. C. Price, and finally joined the A. M. E. Church, becoming missionary in Haiti. Lately he has served as pastor in New Jersey and was, when appointed, field worker of the Organization of Teachers of Colored Children in New Jersey. Mr. Hood is a widower with one daughter.

¶ William H. Hunt is in New York City on a two months' leave of absence. During the last 15 years he has been United States Consul at St. Etienne, France. Mr. Hunt was born in Tennessee; educated at Groton Academy in Massachusetts and Williams College, and was for a while secretary to Consul Judge M. W. Gibbs in Madagascar, whom he succeeded as consul in 1901.

¶ In Gary, Indiana, Arthur B. Whitlock, of Charleston, S. C., was elected councilman from the Fifth Ward at the last election and took his seat January 1. He is the first colored man to be elected to that position. Mr. Whitlock was born in 1886, educated at Rust University, Mississippi and Tuskegee Institute. He came to Gary as motor inspector in 1917.



Consul Hunt

Solomon Porter Hood

Arthur B. Whitlock

A. D. Porter



Theodore Nash

J. T. Newsome

Mrs. Maggie L. Walker

John Mitchell, Jr.

AT the regular Republican Convention of Virginia three colored delegates whose election was not contested were not allowed to enter the hall. A Negro-hater, H. W. Anderson, was nominated for Governor. As this sort of thing had happened before, the Negroes determined to call a mass convention of all Republicans to meet in Richmond, September 5. At that convention the following colored persons were nominated: John Mitchell, Jr., President of the Mechanics' Savings Bank, Governor; Theodore Nash, manager of the American Beneficial Insurance Company, Lieutenant-Governor; J. Thomas Newsome, attorney-at-law, Attorney-General, and Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, president of the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

A heated campaign ensued. Just on the eve of the election the lily-whites paraded with a band of music and 800 people. The following night the colored people paraded with 5 bands and 5,000 people. There are about 36,000 colored voters registered in Virginia. Six thousand of these failed to pay the 1920 taxes and were ineligible. Of the remaining 30,000 the Negroes polled about 25,000 votes, thus helping to defeat the white Republicans and giving the victory to the Democrats by approximately 65,000. The lily-white machine under Congressman C. B. Slemp was smashed.

¶ In Louisville, Ky., a somewhat similar contest took place. The Republican party

has refused to permit the Negroes to nominate one of their own member in the tenth ward, where 90 percent of the population is colored. This year when a colored man qualified as a candidate in the primary he was ousted by court proceedings because one of the signers of his petition had registered as a Socialist! The local Republican organization has sponsored "Jim Crow" signs in the parks and had introduced a "Jim Crow" street car ordinance. As a result, the Negroes formed the Lincoln Party and nominated A. D. Porter for Mayor and a complete ticket of city officials. The party was credited with only 274 votes at the polls but as they were not represented at the counting of the ballots and were beaten away from the polls by the police, this probably does not represent one-tenth of the actual ballots cast.

¶ Benjamin Brawley, former dean of Morehouse College and a widely known author, has settled at Brockton, Massachusetts where he will act as pastor of the Messiah Baptist Church and also devote time to literary work. He issued last spring a short history of the American Drama which will be used as a college text book. His latest book is a social history of the American Negro which he describes as "being a history of the Negro problem in the United States including a history and study of the Republic of Liberia". This book is quite different from his Short History of the Negro Race which is still widely read. A second edition of Mr. Brawley's "Art



George F. Albergu

Lieut. E. E. Thompson

C. C. Spaulding

M. S. Stuart

and Literature Among American Negroes" is also in preparation.

GEORGE F. ALBERGU was born in Jamaica in 1892. He was educated at Monroe College, awarded the Jamaica scholarship of \$3,000 and entered McGill University, Canada, in 1911. Here he gained the mathematical prize in 1913 and graduated from the engineering course in 1915. He was a notable athlete while in college. Since graduation he has been chief inspector in the Munitions Department of Cement County, for three years a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces in the Construction Battalion, for a year in the Chief Engineer's Office of the Canadian Pacific Railway and at present a member of the engineering staff of McGill University. He is a junior member of the Engineering Institute of Canada. Our correspondent is impressed "by his modesty and manly bearing".

¶ Many of our readers know of the success of the colored Syncopated Orchestra in London under the management of Mr. George Lattimore. Recently after a three weeks' successful stay in Glasgow, Scotland, they left to fill an engagement in Dublin, Ireland. While on the water their ship was sunk by two collisions. As a result, William Bates, Vallie Brown, J. Greer, A. Jaeger, F. L. Lattes, Frank Lacton, J. McDonald, Peter Robinson and Walter B. Williams were drowned. There were many hair-breadth escapes, some of the survivors

being in the water three hours before they were rescued. Nearly all the clothing, instruments and personal property of all the members of the company were lost. Mr. Lattimore hurried back from Dublin by special steamer and the survivors were returned to Glasgow where all the artists and actors in the city united in two benefits by which over \$2,500 was raised and distributed among them. The company will reorganize and continue its work.

¶ One of the heroes of the disaster was E. E. Thompson, leader of the orchestra, who served in France with the "Buffaloes". He dragged men, women and children out of the water on to a life raft.

¶ A federation of Negro insurance associations known as the National Negro Insurance Association was formed at Durham in October by representatives from Atlanta and Augusta, Georgia; Jacksonville, Florida; Charlotte Durham, Reidsville, Columbia and Winston, North Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee and Richmond, Virginia, there being 13 companies in all. C. C. Spaulding, of North Carolina, was elected president and M. S. Stuart of Mississippi was made secretary and T. L. Tate of North Carolina, treasurer. The association will recommend courses of study in insurance in colored colleges, will publish an insurance journal, exchange mortality experiences for the purpose of constructing a Negro mortality table, and will seek to induce the companies to establish social service and health departments.

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FRED (DUKE) SLATER.

THE particular Negro star during the recent football season was Duke Slater, of the State University of Iowa. "All experts can see that Slater is the greatest tackle who ever trod a Western gridiron." Slater has been named on Farrell's second All American Team and on Clark's All Western Team which is confessedly "built around Iowa's great Negro tackle".

¶ Among colored institutions the results of the season have been as follows:

Lincoln	26	Bordentown	0
Lincoln	63	Morgan	0
Lincoln	30	Wilberforce	6
Lincoln	13	Hampton	0
Lincoln	0	Union	1
Lincoln	13	Howard	7
Talladega	27	Miles Memorial	0
Talladega	22	Morris Brown	12
Talladega	29	Tuskegee	7
Talladega	31	State Normal	0
Talladega	3	Florida A. & M.	0
Tuskegee	2	Fisk	7
Tuskegee	13	Atlanta	0
Tuskegee	7	Talladega	39
Tuskegee	0	Florida A. & M.	0

Tuskegee	31	Paine	0
Hampton	26	St. Paul	2
Hampton	7	Shaw	6
Hampton	0	Lincoln	13
Hampton	0	Howard	24
Hampton	3	Union	14
W. Va. Institute	73	Bluefield	0
W. Va. Institute	40	Simmons	0
W. Va. Institute	0	Howard	3
W. Va. Institute	41	Ky. Normal	0
W. Va. Institute	0	Va. Theo.	3
W. Va. Institute	14	Wilberforce	0
Morehouse	41	Camp Benning	18
Morehouse	7	Morris Brown	0
Morehouse	41	Biddle	0
Morehouse	13	Knoxville	0
Morehouse	7	Atlanta	0
Morehouse	6	Fisk	0
Howard	19	Virginia Seminary	0
Howard	33	North Carolina A. & T.	0
Howard	26	Virginia N. & I.	0
Howard	8	W. Va. Institute	0
Howard	24	Shaw	0



CAPT. J. H. LAW—HALF-BACK ON LINCOLN TEAM

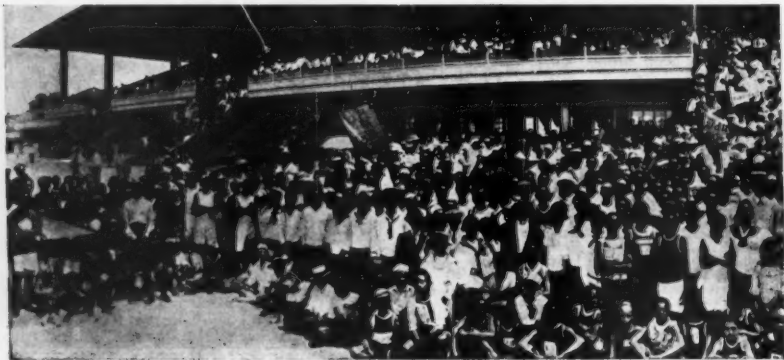


THE HAMPTON FOOTBALL TEAM

Howard	34	Hampton	0
Howard	6	Lincoln	13
Fisk	7	Tuskegee	2
Fisk	23	Rust	0
Fisk	13	Simmons	7
Fisk	14	Wilberforce	0
Fisk	0	Morehouse	6

¶ The colored school athletic league of New Orleans under the leadership of its president, O. C. W. Taylor, has, during the past year conducted a successful basket-

ball series throughout the 16 public schools; conducted baseball series between 12 schools; compiled a physical athletic record of 4,200 boys and girls in the grammar grades; staged a track and field meet with over 1,700 participants; distributed 1,269 medals; placed a small amount of athletic material in all of the public schools; paid



TRACK AND FIELD MEET OF 1700 PARTICIPANTS

all its debts and accomplished this without a paid physical director. Our illustration shows the second annual track and field meet and a part of the boys and girls who participated.

¶ An unusually large number of Greek letter sororities among colored college women met during the holiday season. In Philadelphia 100 delegates from all over the country and as far West as the Pacific Coast representing the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority held their third annual convention at the University of Pennsylvania. Fourteen chapters were represented.

The Zeta Phi Beta Sorority met at Morgan College, Baltimore.

The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority has established Rho Chapter at the University of California. The members consist of girls whose grades have averaged above 80 percent. Mrs. W. E. Green of Chicago is national president of this sorority.

Rho Chapter of the Kappa Alpha Psi Sorority has been established at Washburn College, Topeka, Kan.

¶ J. A. Hodge, principal of Sumner High School, Kansas City, Kansas, has just been elected president of the Administrative Club, which is composed of the high school principals of the city, together with five district supervisors, the special supervisors, director of continuation schools and the statistical expert. All members are white except Mr. Hodge and A. J. Neely, supervisor of the colored grade schools.

¶ The colored teachers of Kansas City, Kansas, enjoy a complete democracy. They



RHO CHAPTER, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA

are represented on the Teachers' Council by two delegates, one of whom served as treasurer the past year. They have all meetings in common with the whites, as well as all classes in extension work.

¶ The three white high schools and Sumner High School are planning a joint concert for next March, which will be given in four sections of the city to raise funds for the high school bands. These bands will be uniformed alike and are to be called on to play occasionally as a unit band.



NEW ORLEANS COLORED SCHOOL ATHLETIC LEAGUE



UNCLE SAM IS TREMENDOUSLY INTERESTED IN DISARMAMENT

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

November 18, Helena, Ark., Will Turner, charged with assault upon a young white woman, was taken by a mob from a sheriff's posse while being removed to Mariana for safe-keeping. After being shot to death his body was brought back to Helena and burned in the city park.

¶ November 25, Lake Village, Ark., Robert Hicks, a young Negro was charged with going to the home of a white girl to learn why she had not answered a note he had written her. A mob of about 30 men hiding near the front porch seized him, took him about a half mile down a road and riddled his body with bullets. "Death at the hands of unknown persons" was the coroner's verdict.

¶ November 26, Sour Lake, Texas, Henry Cade, lynched by 300 men. He was accused of attacking an eight-year old girl. The girl's father wounded the Negro and officers who had taken him in charge were overpowered by the mob. The Negro was hanged.

¶ November 30, Ballinger, Texas, Robert Murtores, 15 years old, charged with attacking a nine-year-old white girl, was taken from officers and lynched. The sheriff tried to escape with the boy, but he was overpowered, the boy taken and tied to a post and his body riddled with bullets.

THE PRIZE HORIZON

EACH month events happen which are significant in the history of the Negro race. Sometimes the newspapers hear of these things and sometimes they do not. In order to encourage the proper recording of all such events the CRISIS offers monthly three prizes.

For the best account, with facts, names, dates and so forth, of any event which illustrates the progress of the Negro race, accompanied by a photograph of the event or of some participants, we will pay \$3; for the second best account, \$2; and for the third best, \$1. The editors of the CRISIS will be the judges and the results will be announced each month.

"LOOKING BACKWARD"



JESSIE FAUSET



FFIFTY years from now this agonized world will look back on the doings of the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, the propositions of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Disarmament Conference and wonder why there was so much pother and ado. By that time issues will have become clarified and that generation will think it strange that the rightness of the attitude of France as contrasted with the attitude of Great Britain should have been questioned. Or *vice versa*. It takes time to give perspective.

Glancing down the perspective of a fifty years already gone one comes across another Reconstruction of a War no less momentous for those days. That period is still known as "The Reconstruction" for this country, and men and women, students of human happenings, looking back can see it as the single finest instance of the effort of a nation to set immediately right an ancient wrong. Of course it was an effort girt with many an attendant injustice and with the bestowal of many unequal privileges but still more it bespoke the willingness of erring human nature "to try to be good".

Above all it gave a thwarted and despised race a chance to show its mettle.

Many colored men joined bravely and splendidly in that attempt. Both white and black Americans have occasion to be proud of the statesmanship shown in that day by Rainey, DeLarge, Cain and Smalls.

Out of the swelling list of names which occur to me I like most to think of that of Robert Brown Elliott who combined in one mere frame and brain all our best possibilities, a sort of precursor of all we may hope to be in industry, in honor and in statesmanship.

As a very young man he was a sailor and a printer, but his exceptional training acquired in his native town, Boston, and at Eton College in England, fitted him for more useful callings than either of those. Does a man round out his virtues deliberately to adopt certain responsibilities or do the high gods, realizing that such or such an individual will respond best to cer-

tain stimuli, thrust the responsibilities upon him?

I cannot guess. I only know that Elliott, a mere printer in Charleston, S. C., was elected on sheer merit to the Constitutional Convention, that in this capacity he blocked the passage of a measure engaging to reimburse former slave-owners for the loss of their "chattels"; that thereafter he was elected to the State Legislature, became its leader, was chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee and following these experiences was quite logically elected as representative to the 42nd and 43rd Congresses.

In Congress his fame was instant as a brilliant speaker, a keen and logical opponent, a fearless and tireless battler for the rights of man. Charles Sumner, the author of the Civil Rights Bill, counted on Elliott; on his (Sumner's) deathbed he besought the colored man, "Don't let my Civil Rights Bill die."

But I do not mean to dwell on the mere facts of his career; one can find them easily enough in biographies and histories. What I want to point out is what he meant to us.

Consider him then as the model, as the mould in human form, of the possibilities of our race—this by no means especially striking black men of undeniably Negroid appearance with his finely shaped hands and feet, his precise and careful speech and his candid gaze.

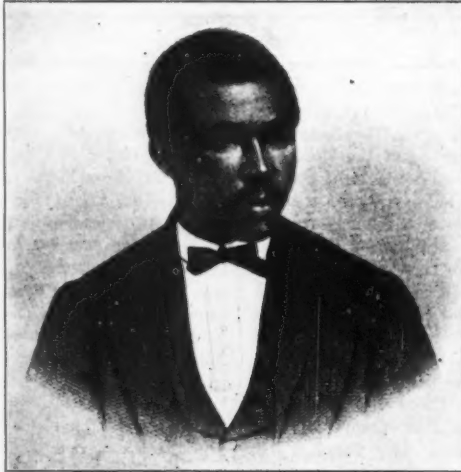
What made him great? What outside of the secret, inimitable inner force has he left for us to emulate? I repeat his industry, his honor and his statesmanship.

There is no question as to this first quality. He was born in 1842 and we find him graduating from Eton, one of the colleges of the University of London in 1858! Thereafter he studied law, but see how purposefully he had already filled the first 16 years of his life. And he never gave up his studious habits, for throughout the years he kept up a practical acquaintance with French, German and Spanish; he knew his Latin and was unusually conversant with the Bible.

Elliott's sense of honor was so high that shortly after the death of Sumner he resigned from Congress in order to meet the opposition already starting in South Carolina against the Negro in politics. Charges of corruption were coming thick and fast not only against the race but against the Republican party. No one had figured more actively in Republican politics than Elliott,

yet his integrity was never seriously questioned. And he employed much of his considerable legal and oratorical talent in defending not necessarily his political friends but his political colleagues.

As a statesman he had not only the welfare of his people but that of his country at heart. There was never any quibbling and no effort at personal advancement. His methods were uncompromising and fearless. His attacks on his political opponents were launched with "the strength of ten". He knew how to tip his shafts with darts of homely wit, of telling truths, of historic allusions that never failed their mark. At



ROBERT BROWN ELLIOTT

the political status of my race. The passage of this bill will determine the civil status, not only of the Negro, but of any other class of citizens who may feel themselves discriminated against."

Men like Elliott do not die. They live on and on in their own people, in the world. Yet their memory must be kept green, their tale be retold in order that we of a later day may take fresh heart. This, then, a little tribute not necessary to Robert Brown Elliott of imperishable fame, but an added spur, a clew, perhaps a draught of cold water to our Negro youth which must not faint nor flag.

the time of the fight for the Civil Rights Bill the opposition was headed by Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia (even then enlisted on the side of wrong!). He was an old man and infirm, but for all that considered by the Democrats as their great protagonist. Elliott said to him sternly:

"The results of the war, as seen in reconstruction, have settled forever

IN THE FRENCH WEST INDIES



FILOGENES MAILLARD



IN the French West Indies, we Negroes cannot complain, for all males over 21 years are electors and eligibles; we are full-fledged French citizens. France is the only white nation in the world which has made the Negro the equal of the white. We elect by indirect vote a Senator who sits in the Senate in Paris; Beranger, white, is our Senator. We elect by direct popular suffrage two deputies who sit in the *Chambre des Députés*; the present ones are Candace and Boisneuf, both black. Guadeloupe and

dependencies are comprised of 36 cantons; we elect a Counsellor for each canton who sits in the General Council at Basse-Terre, chief city and capital of the Colony. In the Communes, we elect a Municipal Council composed of 10, 14, 18, 21, 23, or more members, depending on population; the Municipal Council elects the Mayor. The Governor, who is generally a European, is named by the Minister of Colonies with the consent of our three Representatives in France.

The Looking Glass

THE PRESIDENT

SOME just concept of the place which the problem of inter-racial relationship holds in the life of the United States may be gained by the importance given Mr. Harding's speech in the national press. A great many southern newspapers consider the President unusually brave and courageous in voicing such utterances. Thus the Louisville *Times* declares that "Bravery was required for the utterance that 'men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality.'" The Birmingham *News* feels "The South will have no quarrel with President Harding upon his address," for as the Kinston, N. C., *Free Press* says his views "are entertained by the best thought in the South."

But there is some difference of opinion too. The Roanoke (Va.), *World News*, states:

Mr. Harding's speech offers no solution for the Negro problem. But it was a courageous speech and a helpful speech, and will do infinitely more good than harm.

The Raleigh *News and Observer* feels likewise but gives a new and unpleasant slant to the President's utterance:

Mr. Harding has not contributed a single constructive thought to the solution of the race problem, but there is encouragement in this statement that the people of other sections of the country are coming around to the southern view of the matter.

The approach from this to actual disapproval is easy. Senator Harrison, of Mississippi authorized this remark in the New York *Tribune*:

"The President's speech was unfortunate, but to have been made in the heart of the South, where in many States the Negro population predominates, was unfortunate in the extreme.

"Of course, every rational being desires to see the Negro protected in his life, liberty and property. I believe in giving him every right under the law to which he is entitled, but to encourage the Negro, who in some states, as in my own, exceeds the white population, to strive through every political avenue to be placed upon equality with the whites, is a blow to the white civilization of this country."

Senator Watson, of Georgia, also took

issue. Turning again to the New York *Tribune* we read:

He expressed regret that the President made the Birmingham speech, said the Negro question was Southern and local and similar to the Japanese question which is "vexing the Pacific Coast." He thought it unfortunate that the President, "who did not understand the situation in the South," should "lecture" the Southern people about treatment of the Negro. He denied there was economic discrimination against the Negro in the South.

The *Tribune* reports a very strong word of Senator Spencer, of Missouri, but Republican, who says:

"The President, with characteristic force and dignity, uttered in the language of the statesman what every man who believes in the Constitution of the United States accepts wholeheartedly. That the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, is the fundamental law of the land."

Northern white opinion on the speech in general is likewise divided. Thus we find Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska thinking the President "right in principle," but declaring that "the race question could not be solved by argument and the President's speech would not improve the situation."

But on the other hand Senator Willis of Ohio declares:

"The President's ringing statement in defense of political and economic equality of individual opportunity, with recognition of absolute divergence in things social and racial, is as courageous as it is true. The country will applaud President Harding's clearness of statement and patriotism of purpose."

The *New Republic* (New York), finds the President's "scheme for the solution of the race problem in the South has much to recommend it, so far as its spirit is concerned." It is the belief of the San Francisco *Call* that he made a courageous speech "not calculated to win any white votes for the Republican party, but well over on the side of justice to the Negro." The editor continues gravely:

"It is not pleasant for fairminded men to admit that any bravery is required for a government official to insist on the political and economic freedom that is guaranteed

every citizen by the constitution of the United States. But the fact happens to be true in some sections of the country, and most flagrantly in the South."

The colored press runs the gamut of approbation, antagonism and cynicism. This last note is frequently struck. The Oklahoma City *Black Dispatch* opines: "Viewing President Harding's speech from the angle of the purpose for which it was intended, it was a pretty good speech." The "purpose" this editor goes on to point out was, of course, to win over the white South. In similarly cynical vein runs this comment of the Houston (Tex.) *Informer*:

"The President is precisely right in his viewpoint, spoken; his actions will be a horse of another color.

"We have heard much of and from President Harding the "talker;" now let us see something tangible, definite and constructive from President Harding the "doer." Amen!"

The Boston *Chronicle* expresses the same wish. James Weldon Johnson, writing in the *New York Age*, hopes doubtfully that the "net result of the President's speech will be good, but there is grave danger in some of the things he said."

But there are some surprises. The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* says amazingly:

"As a whole President Harding's utterances were received with enthusiasm in the North, East and West, and there is every reason to believe that he spoke the sentiments of thousands of white Southerners. The South as a whole is not disposed to hold any deserving member of the Negro race back politically, economically and educationally."

"The speech stands without a parallel among the utterances of the chief executives of the nation," thinks the *Omaha Monitor*. Less favorable is the criticism of the *St. Paul Appeal*, which considers that his speech "displayed remarkable misinformation on the subject due to the fact that he has evidently studied from one side only."

* * *

POLITICAL EQUALITY

Thus much for generalities. The purely political issues involved bring a different kind of comment. Here the colored press feels the motives behind the speech are at least questionable. The Oklahoma *Black Dispatch* goes into detail:

To those of us who have watched the present administration get into action, we know that it is the desire of the Republican Party to break into the solid south. The

activity of the national committee in the Georgia situation, which has well nigh shorn Col. Henry Lincoln Johnson of his power as National Committeeman, together with the other alliances that the Administration has made with lily-whitism throughout the South loans color to the thought that the President's speech was an attempt to step closer to the white South with an appeal that could later be construed to mean whatever any local condition demanded that it mean.

Of course, it was to be expected that any sort of statement that a Republican standard bearer would make in the heart of the South would be attacked by such cheap politicians as Heflin, Pat Harrison, McKellar and Watson. That had to be counted on. But the main idea was to precipitate a discussion which in the long run would be beneficial to the Republican Party from the standpoint of votes. The Republican chieftains know that there is no way under hell or heaven to convert Heflin and Pat Harrison. They do have hopes, however, of running off with their crowd.

If the above surmise is not correct, we have no way to account for the otherwise meaningless statement of the President about "social equality" to the whites and the admonition to his Negro auditors to "improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own."

Linking up the President's speech with the Democratic victories occurring shortly after in Kentucky, Virginia and New York City, the Houston *Informer* says:

In both Kentucky and Virginia the colored citizens put out independent tickets, not that they were confident of winning any offices, but to "get the grand old party" chieftains told and show them where to "head in" in matters political.

There is a well-defined program,idious and infamous, among the white Republicans in the South (and Northern Republicans are apparently winking at the game) to oust the colored brother from the affairs and councils of the Republican party and render and maintain same absolutely "lily-white" in every particular.

The national administration, either consciously or unconsciously, wilfully or unknowingly, has nodded assent and put its stamp of approval upon this unRepublican, unAmerican and unDemocratic elimination policy of the "lily-white" régime, clique and coterie.

The colored voters have tired of such treatment, and, since Republican leaders have shown the inclination and disposition to give the race a "cold shoulder" and "double-cross", these colored Americans have decided that they have paid the Republican party about all they owe it and what the party owes them, they do not ever expect to get.

Realizing that they are American citizens, these black voters perfected organizations

to alienate the colored vote from the Republican party, thereby showing to the party leaders that the "Uncle Tom" type of black man is an extinct specimen of humanity.

"It is our contention," declares the Atlanta *Independent*, "that the Administration has turned the [Republican] party's affairs into the hands of lily-whites who are willing to join the party only on condition that the Negro is eliminated." To substantiate this statement it quotes the following from the Athens (Ga.) *Evening News*:

"Republican party chieftains are laying extensive plans to build up a new party organization in the South, based on a greater white representation, it was learned here today.

"At the congressional elections one year hence, this new organization, they hope, will extend the Republican foothold in the South which was gained when President Harding broke down the opposition in many old line Democratic strongholds last year.

Of whom does this new organization consist? Lilywhites, as we save just stated, who believe no more in the principles of the Republican party than the rankest Democrat, and who are Democrats to all intents and purposes. They call themselves Republicans simply to secure Republican jobs, but at base, they are nothing more nor less than bourbon Democrats. The Athens *News* says further:

"The drive is aimed at influential white voters of the South and is based on three considerations:

"1—The tremendous number of southern votes received by President Harding last November.

"2—The support National Republican policies have received from southern business men.

"3—Belief of Republican managers that thousands of southern voters will turn Republican once they are convinced that the race question would not be raised by Republican success.

"This view is held by his party officials to be the greatest obstacle to progress in the South and most attention is being directed at it just now."

However, the division of colored people along political lines is not a bad thing, indeed "it has been the teaching of many thoughtful colored Americans for years," says the Omaha *Monitor*.

It remains for the Kansas City *Call* to present reasons of international purport for the real motives underlying the President's speech, namely to inspire, while the Disarmament Conference is going on, more faith on the part of the Japanese toward us. The editor argues:

They, [the Japanese] wonder will the

United States, with its theory and practice of "white supremacy," be fair-minded and share commercial opportunity and political prestige with the yellow man? Will this nation be more kindly disposed toward one race of color than it has been toward the red man and the black man? Is there any sense of fair play and common humanity in the United States, where it deals with a people of color.

At all costs the Japanese must be led to believe that America will be fair to a people of color, and that the subject matter, not the race of those interested, will be the thing considered.

Hence the President's Birmingham speech. In it we feel sure that he was far more interested in the persuading the white American to dealing fair with the black American, than he was of proving the divergencies between the races. We believe he wants a free ballot and a fair count for Negroes more than he wants to maintain social isolation of the races. The President knows that if the American white people are not willing to deal justly with those of color whom they do know, they will not be believed when they claim to be fair-minded with another colored race.

The white press comments on the fact that equal political opportunity would eventually mean the placing of Negroes in high legislative positions. And so remarks the Rochester *Herald*:

In spite of President Harding's hope for a change, the South will remain solid for many years to come. It will remain so because it will not tolerate Negro rule. It will also remain Democratic, as its white voters cannot be convinced that Republican local governments can guarantee them the safeguards they must have for the protection of their property and of their lives. Approve of this stand or regret it, as we may, no person familiar with southern conditions and with the convictions and temperaments of southern white men, will deny that the South has taken it or that it will adhere to it. Nor will the North trouble itself to interfere with whatever political system the South adopts for itself. This is certain, if the experience of the past carries any lesson.

It is a possibility that the Negro might become even President. The Boston *Post* inquires:

But is it, under our laws and our spirit of liberty, so very appalling? If a Negro had the ability and the character, and could obtain the nomination and get votes enough to win the election, what then? Would the country go upon the rocks because, although its political laws and customs had been fully observed, the successful candidate were to have a dark skin?

The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* backs up this attitude:

No one will gainsay the truth of the

President's dictum that only the Negro who is fit to vote should be permitted to do so; and his further assertion that the same rule should apply to the white as well as to the black citizen went to the root of the problem, so far as concerns its political aspects. When this Nation is ready and has the courage and honesty to eliminate the unfit voter, whether he be white or black, that much the nearer will it attain to the ideal of democracy.

But the *Pittsburgh Leader* observes rather cynically that the white Southerner will feel that all along he has been doing what the President advises as a safe political course.

The purifiers of the South will tell Mr. Harding that allowing the Negro citizen to vote when fit and preventing the white citizen from voting when unfit has been their unvarying rule of conduct. But—they may also tell him what he probably knows, that, in their opinion, the Negro citizen is never actually fit and the white citizen never is actually unfit. Try as they will the whites of the South have never been able to discover the Negro citizen who is fit to vote. And on the other hand their closest scrutiny has failed to discover the white man who is unfit. . . .

If there is one thing that is settled in the South to stay settled it is that no Negro is fit to vote and no white man unfit. Given free translation, that means that no Negro is ever fit to have anything except what the white man permits him to hold. If this is democracy the spirit of American institutions—to leave the law and constitution out of all consideration—then the South is the hearthstone of democracy and Americanism.

"The President made the mistake," says the *Brooklyn Citizen*, "of trying at one and the same time to hold the Negro vote for the Republican party, and to capture the white vote."

"The speech was a part of the Republican campaign," thinks the *Springfield Republican*. We read:

For several months the leaders of the Republican party have been planning a real campaign to break the Democratic hold on the "solid South". Some have advocated that the way to do it is for some statement to be made which would assure the whites in the South that they could vote the Republican ticket without fear of Negro domination. This has indeed been advocated by those Republicans who hailed from the South and who knew that some such utterance was necessary before the whites could be persuaded to desert the Democratic standard. On the other hand, northern Republicans who have been helped in recent years by the influx of Negroes into their congressional districts have feared that

such a statement would be regarded as hostile by northern Negroes.

A unique point of view is voiced by the *Buffalo Times*:

It is a pity for anybody to put a political construction on this Birmingham speech and interpret it as an attempt to "split the solid South." The Birmingham address was not political. It was neither Republican nor Democratic. It was a plea for a truly American spirit of humanity and co-ordination with respect to the Negro question.

The opinion gleaned from the white southern press shows that the President's plea for political equality met with little sympathy. In the first place the South dislikes outside interference. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* quotes Senator Heflin of Alabama:

"There is no escape from the conclusion that absolute political and economic equality between the white man and the Negro means the wiping out of all color lines in partnerships in business and in the election of Negroes to office over white people. Social equality is next door to such a humiliating and disgraceful policy. So far as the South is concerned we hold to the doctrine that God Almighty has fixed the limits and boundary lines between the two races and no Republican living can improve upon his handiwork."

Senator McKellar, of Tennessee found the President's discussion of "the race question in the very heart of the black belt unfortunate."

Frank Diedmeyer, of Birmingham, made in a letter to the *New York Herald*, a typical southern statement:

The white people of the South have a deep conviction that they understand the black man; that they have solved the race problem; that both races, but each in its destined path, will march on to better and higher things, the one helpful to the other. All outside attempts to settle the so-called race problem will fail. Such attempts tend to upset what might be called the Negro psychology, and the white man will continue to consider it imperative for his social and political preservation to remain under the standard of that political party which for more than a generation has guaranteed to him the stability of his institutions, the security of his home and of his well being.

"The speech," writes the editor of the *Birmingham Post* was "a political maneuver, . . . a tactless address and a violation of the proprieties of the circumstances of the President's visit to Birmingham."

The *Baltimore American*, however, feels that when the President went into the po-

litical status of the Negro he talked "sense". It is injurious to link the Negro always and only with one party. The Republican party is already well entrenched; it is the South that needs help, not the party. The article continues:

It does not need to break the Solid South in order to carry elections, but the Solid South does need to be broken if it is to march in step with the rest of the country along the road of progress. One-party rule in any section is deadening to the political energies of a people, and deadened political energies make for decay, corruption and economic retardment.

That deadening process is one of the major reasons why the South has not kept step with the rest of the country in the accumulation of wealth. The South has lain largely dormant under the somewhat irresponsible and slothful rule of a party sure of its power and immune to rebuke.

SOCIAL EQUALITY

As might have been expected the point in the President's speech which drew the most editorial fire from white and black press alike was his dictum on social equality. North and South realize that there can be no real political equality without consequent social equality. A. T. Hall, Sr., writing in the Pittsburgh *Dispatch* goes right to the heart of the matter:

While the president appropriately voiced what has been all along the burden of the black man's plea in relation to equality—complete civic, industrial and political opportunity—his references to amalgamation and social equality were certainly far-fetched and uncalled-for, despite his suggestion to eliminate all consideration of them, unless they were thrown in as a "sop to Cerebus" or as a bit of rhetorical sugar to offset the other unpalatable facts he was trying to cram down the consciousness of his southern audience. The social side of mankind is a matter of natural and individual selection which no code of laws of human origin and construction has ever, or can ever, regulate or control.

This fact is so patent and obvious that it makes the continued hullabaloo about race purity of professional agitators, or prejudiced persons, assume the character of a smoke screen, behind which the Negro is exploited wantonly, wickedly and in every possible manner.

The San Francisco *Call* points out:

Where the President tried to ride two horses, however, was in his limitation of the sort of freedom a Negro may expect. President Harding promised political and economic equality, but definitely said that no Negro should aspire to social equality, whatever that is. If it means what most people think it does, however, it means that President Harding, while willing to see the Ne-

gro elected to congress and becoming the owner of a farm or his own home, might not go so far as to invite a Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House table.

"You can't draw a sharp line between politics and social life," declares the New York *New Republic*. "That one reference to social equality," the New York *Nation* feels, "fell like a lash upon every thoughtful Negro and offset much of the good Mr. Harding did."

The Hartford *Times* thinks white people all over the country feel alike about contact between the races and that Negroes feel no differently from the whites:

Social equality of Negroes and whites is no more likely to be recognized in the North than it is in the South. There are differences among races that are "fundamental, eternal and inescapable," as the president said. We doubt if the intelligent Negro has any desire to mingle as a social equal with the whites; he undoubtedly prefers to be in the upper stratum of his own race.

Indirectly the Boston *Transcript* links up the Japanese situation with Mr. Harding's views:

In saying that "racial amalgamation cannot be," he goes on to associate racial integrity with the highest aims of humanity as well as with American national safety. The race problem, he says, is "becoming more and more a problem of the North, more and more a problem of Africa, of South America, of the Pacific, of the South Seas, of the world." If it is a problem of the world, those who are seeking to force an alien and an Asiatic race upon the American people may consider themselves rebuked, and signally rebuked at the very moment when they are preparing to assert their claims before the councils of the whole world.

The Negro press throws down the gauntlet. Without social equality there can be no equality. Dr. DuBois challenges in the December *CRISIS*:

Let us henceforward frankly admit that which we hitherto have always known; that *no system of social uplift which begins by denying the manhood of a man can end by giving him a free ballot, a real education and a just wage.*

How can a man bring himself to conceive that the majority of mankind—Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Negroes are going to stand up and acknowledge to the world that they are unfit to be men or to associate with men, when they know they are men?

Social inequality proclaims inferiority of ability. Says the Chicago *Whip*:

How can we expect to receive economic equality and opportunity when social equal-

ity is denied? Nobody wants to work side by side with his inferior. The white man will not allow his black brother to advance because of his intrinsic value as long as he is regarded as a social inferior. How can we expect to become officials in large concerns when the social intolerance of America and men like Harding prevent it?

And the Chicago *Enterprise* specifies just what this race and social separateness will mean:

Complete divergence socially and racially means Jim Crow cars, Jim Crow schools, and segregated cities. Experience has taught us that Jim Crow Schools mean poorly equipped and inefficient schools and segregated districts are always undesirable and neglected districts. How could the idea of our oneness as American citizens prevail if we insist on complete divergence socially and racially?

The Pittsburgh *American* feels that "what the president had to say on the question of social equality might better have been left unsaid," but that equal political and economic opportunities are the "only points that vitally concern this great group."

Naturally the southern white papers had least to say about social equality since the doctrine of political equality had al-

ready aroused their ire. Still a few editors mention it. "A truce to race problem talks! There is no race problem in the South," declares the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*. "A sensible Negro does not want social equality with the white men and sane white men know that such a thing is impossible."

We conclude with the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot* which thus sums up the racial difficulties of the South:

"In a very real sense social and racial segregation carries with it an impairment of the equality of opportunity. In a very real and troublesome sense equality of opportunity encroaches on social and racial separateness. The South's problem is one of blending these two sets of principles for the good of both races. In its practical aspects the problem begins where the President leaves off. The promised land where the two races will dwell together in peace, neither encroaching upon the other, each enjoying equality of opportunity and equality of reward for achievement, but each preserving a dignified racial separateness—this Promised Land has already been shown to us by many a Moses of our own. The President's formula takes us no further than Nebo. We have been admiring the view from Nebo for a long time now, and it does not help much to be told to admire it some more."

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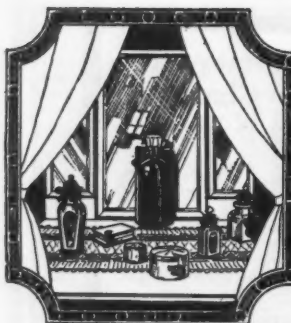
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